RUSSIA TO-DAY

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A "Komsomolka"—a cheerful girl member of the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union. There are six million like her in Soviet Russia, getting ready to take over the obligations of citizenship in the First Socialist Republic—and ready to defend it against all enemies

Successful Soviet Farmers Plan for the Future

This grain elevator on the Black Sea is the biggest in Europe. Its capacity is 41,000 tons of wheat and, so thoroughly is it mechanised that only five men are needed to work it. Here is a triumph of the Soviets' agricultural policy and an example of rationalisation used for the benefit of the workers. Nobody has been thrown out of work here. In fact, unemployment has ceased to exist in the whole of the Soviet Union

by Andrew Rothstein

IT is quite a common thing to read of the failure of the Five-Year Plan in agriculture. There are many who admit the tremendous industrial achievements of the Soviet Union—the giant factories built, the wonders of increased output, the Socialist spirit of the workmen. But even these take refuge in the alleged "collapse" of the collective farms—the co-operative units which to-day embrace over 60 per cent. of all the peasants in the U.S.S.R.

Many of these farms are not yet paying propositions. Barely two years old, it would be remarkable if they were. But there are thousands which show a profit, thanks to businesslike methods of working and good Communist leadership.

And delegates from 1,500 of them met in Congress at Moscow last month (February 15 to 19), in order to pool experiences, make them known to their less successful brethren, and give the lie to capitalist propagandists.

It was a unique assembly. All the 1,513 delegates were peasants, three-fifths of them rank-and-file collective farmers, and the remainder members of managements, team leaders, etc.

Breaking Individualism

Yet they were not merely peasants—they were "shock brigaders" of their respective farms. They were men and women who have been setting the example individually to their fellow-farmers of working better, harder, more efficiently, in the interests of the community.

Thereby they have broken with the old, traditional individualism of the peasant. They—and the tens of thousands whom they have inspired and enlightened—have taken a big step forward towards the point at which former peasants will merge with former proletarians into a single community of Socialist toilers.

The discussions at the Congress were also unique:

How to get hundreds of peasants who until two or three years ago never looked outside their own small farm—except, perhaps, with envy at their neighbour's—to co-operate in a big undertaking of 1,000-2,000 acres.

How to ensure that the immense advantages of pooled labour, land and machinery, in such an undertaking, shall not be lost through ignorance and mismanagement.

How to ensure that faith in machinery doesn't lead to neglect of horses, or reliance on common funds to individual loafing and idleness.

How to take the collective farms one more step forward—by introducing rotation of crops, carefully-graded payment according to work put in, and so on.

And how to fight the active class enemy—the former kulaks (rich capitalistic peasants) and similar gentry, who have in many places managed to work their way into the collective farms and do great damage.

These were the problems discussed, in the light of practical experiences in hundreds of collective farms where they had been tackled successfully.

It is the fashion just now for the capitalist newspapers to pretend that the menace of the kulaks is a Bolshevik bogey, invented to hide failure. But the delegates' reports showed it is no bogey.

Collective farmers from the Middle Volga and Kazakstan told how kulaks in their farm had been caught stealing grain. In one area of the Northern Caucasus, 55 secret pits full of stolen grain had been unearthed.

In the Black Earth region, 750 ricks of corn had been fired on one farm. At Dniepropetrovsk, kulaks put poison in the horses' manger, and carbolic in the pond where 52 valuable merino sheep were being washed.

In the Tartar Republic, kulaks buried a dog alive in a corn bin, to render the grain foul. On a White Russian farm, they slaughtered a cow in calf. And so on.

But on these shock-brigaders' farms—where the Communists were wideawake, the collective farmers active, the management businesslike—the kulaks' efforts had not been successful.

Collective farmers earn more

Delegate after delegate told of more ground tilled in 1932 than in 1931 and 1928 (the first year of the Five-Year Plan); of a bigger yield; of more grain sold to the State; and of a bigger income for the collective farm notwithstanding—28,475 roubles in 1931, and 103,117 roubles in 1932 (an Ukrainian farm); 26,000 roubles and 94,000 roubles (a Crimean farm); 24,000 roubles in 1930, 56,000 roubles in 1931, 71,000 roubles in 1932 (a Moscow farm).

And the direct result was a colossal increase in the income per head of the collective farmers themselves, when the proceeds came to be divided up according to the number of working days put in. Here are a few typical examples:

Remuneration per Working Day.

Where situated.	*Year.*	*In Grain (lbs.).*	*In Cash (kopeks).*
Ukraine	1931	4.4.	35
	1932	9.2	135
Lower Volga	1931	4.8	—
	1932	8.8	83
Kabarda	1931	13.2	28
	1932	17.6	65
W. Siberia	1931	2.2	—
	1932	6.6	52

Per family for whole year.

Western Region	1928	600 roubles
	1932	1,800 ,,
Azerbaidjan	1931	748 ,,
	1932	1,406 ,,

Thus the collective farm has been proved to be a better business proposition for the individual, providing it is efficiently run. And this does not only apply to income per head. "Have you heard of Riazan, and how poor we used to be?" asked one delegate. "How many pairs of boots used we to have in our village? As many as we had kulaks! And now every collective farmer has not only boots, but a pair of goloshes as well."

98 milch cows in 1931, and 484 in 1932, and four elementary schools built (*Kabarda*).

A cow-house built for 112 cows, a brick granary holding 660 tons, a reading-room, creche, communal restaurant and dairy (*Moscow*).

12 horses when they started, 120 to-day (*Gorky*).

A school, club, reading-room, creche for 20 infants, granary, communal stables for 120 horses, power station begun (*Bashkeiria*);

Petrol engines in the creamery and flour mill, electric light, stables for 100 horses, rabbit house for 600 animals, etc. (*Azerbaidjan*).

90 cattle, 80 horses, 1,400 acres cultivated when they were individual farmers, and 350 cattle, 104 horses, 1,850 acres last year (*N. Caucasus*).

These were some of the practical achievements in Socialist constructive work which the delegates could report of their particular collective farms.

All of them could tell of the gradual effect which results like these have had on the most "hard-boiled" petty individualists.

Stalin brought down the house with the following story:

"Two years ago I had a letter from a widow woman, a peasant on the Volga. She complained that they wouldn't admit her to the collective farm, and asked my support. I enquired of the collective farm. They replied they couldn't admit her because she had insulted the collective farmers' meeting. How?

"Why, at the peasants' meeting, when the collective farmers were calling on the individual farmers to join up, this same widow, in reply to the appeal, showed her backside to the meeting and said: 'Here you are, here's your collective farm.'" (Laughter.)

"Undoubtedly she did wrong and insulted the meeting. But is it right to refuse her admission a year later, when she has sincerely repented and recognised her error? I think not, and wrote as much to the collective farm.

"The widow was admitted, and now it turns out that she is in the front rank as a worker on the collective farm. (Applause.)

Stalin reminded the Congress of the difficulties which must be overcome if the peasants want to achieve the same successes as the workers have done in industry.

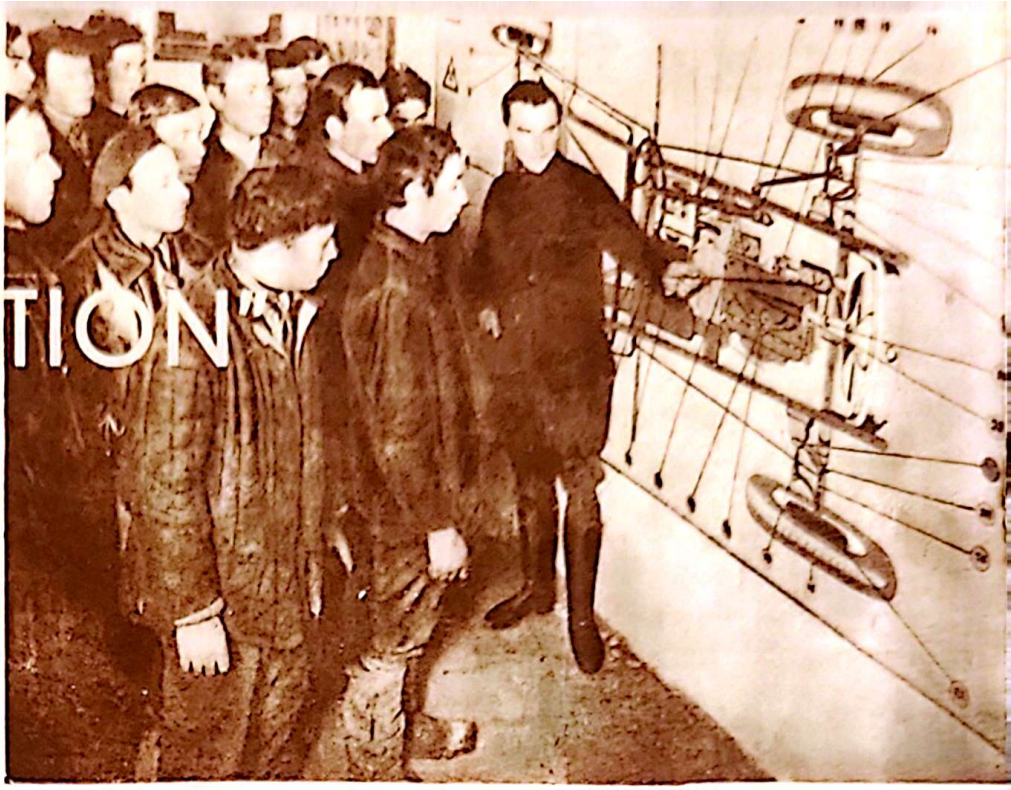
Their hardships are not to be compared to those the workers had to put up with in 1918-19, he told them, when ½-lb. of bread a day was all they could get.

And he gave them a definite aim to work to—*that every collective farmer shall reach the level of the well-to-do in the next two or three years.*

The "Open Letter to All Collective Farmers," which the Congress adopted at its close, summing up the lessons learned, has already begun to change the spirit of the countryside.

"AUTO-MOBILISATION"

The Soviet Union Makes Its Own Motor Transport



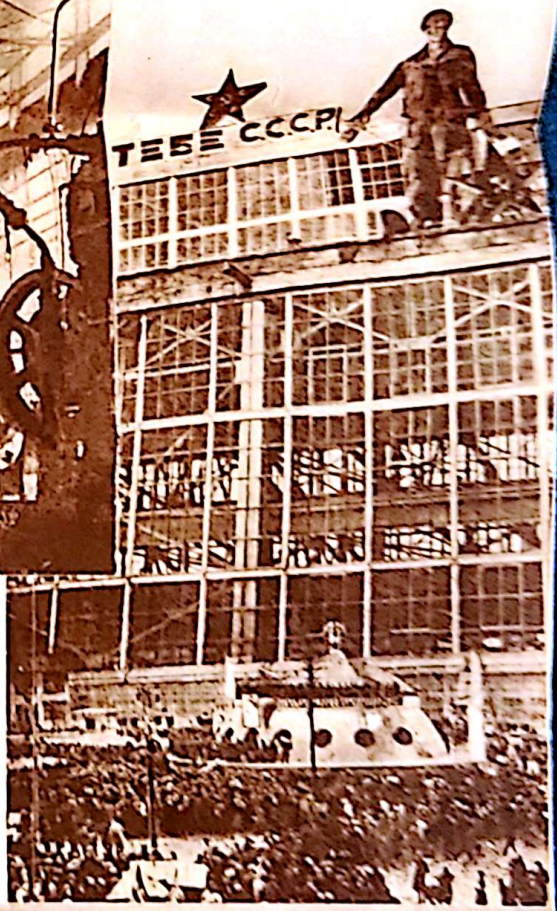
WE who are used to dodging motor vehicles every time we go out, can hardly realise what a problem—what a whole series of problems—it must be to put them "on the road" in such a country as the Soviet Union.

The very roads themselves have to be built—traversing one-sixth of the world's surface. Several different kinds of high-grade steel and iron are needed; rubber, vulcanite, mica, wood, leather, brass. And not only materials for the various parts, but machines to make the materials.

Before the war a car factory was started in Moscow, called the Amo. Mountains of money were poured into the undertaking. But it never turned out a single car.

After the revolution the Amo factory made various odds and ends—oil lamps and stoves, cigarette lighters, pots and pans. In 1924 the workers decided to turn their attention to cars. On November 7 that year, ten Amo trucks took part in the parade on the Red Square. That was the total output for the year. They were good, solid, four-cylinder trucks but not suitable for mass production.

Village lads become mechanics—an instructor at the Amo factory explaining the working of a motor vehicle



The huge forge shop and, right, the enthusiastic scene at the opening of the giant Amo works

In 1928 it was decided to reconstruct the factory entirely, instal a mass-production system, and turn out 4,000 a year, working three shifts a day. But this was far too small. By the time this plan had been thoroughly discussed by the workers the plan was revised, and an annual production of 25,000 trucks determined upon.

Engineers were sent to the biggest plant in the world—Ford's, at Detroit. Engineers, metallurgists and other specialists were sent all over the world. They returned with the latest methods at their finger tips.

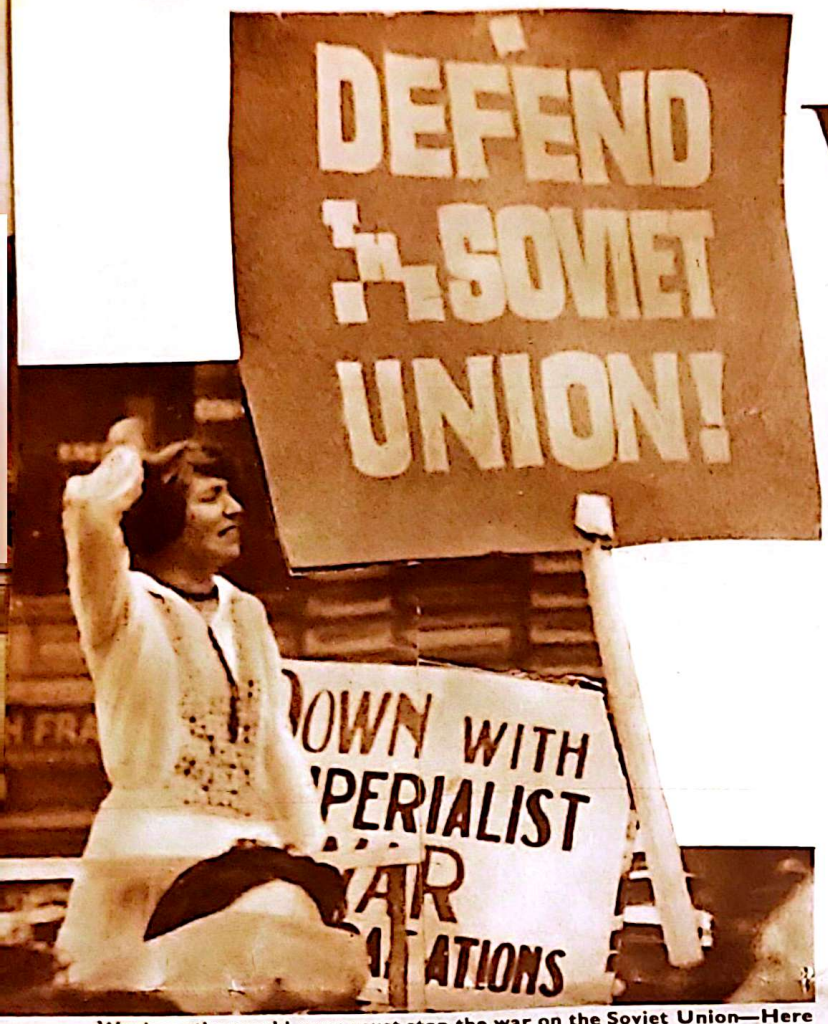
But the biggest auto plant in the world was not big enough for socialism. The engineers could not imitate—they had to design afresh.

The autos also had to be different. How to build a car that would operate at forty degrees below zero, or at 110 in the shade; that would undertake single journeys of thousands of miles, over roads that were still tracks—these were special problems.

How to make, in the Soviet Union, the special steels required. How to make magnetos—that in itself presenting a knot of problems. How to manufacture rubber, without relying on imports—Edison alone employed hundreds of specialists for years, and sank fortunes in trying to solve this one enigma.

At the end of 1931 there appeared unobtrusively on the streets of Moscow, a new six-wheeled bus, painted bright blue. A modest badge on the radiator head announced that it was a New Amo.

Now the plan of the Amo Plant is 75,000 new model, 6-cylinder, 66-h.p. trucks a year. For the whole Soviet Union an annual production of nearly half a million autos is planned for 1937.



Workers the world over must stop the war on the Soviet Union—Here is an anti-war speaker at a New York meeting

WAR Behind

British Imperialists Plan to Unite with France, Italy, Germany and Japan to Attack the Soviet Union.

THE arrest of six British engineers in Moscow on suspicion of sabotage has produced what the Moscow *Izvestia* calls a "cat's chorus of hysteria" in Britain.

Without waiting for the charge to be made known, on the evidence heard, Baldwin informed the House of Commons of the grave view with which the British Government regarded the matter and declared that "there can be no justification for the charge on which the arrests are made."

A couple of days later negotiations proceeding for the renewal of the Trade Agreement denounced by Britain were abruptly terminated with the purpose of intimidating the Soviet Government into releasing the prisoners and withdrawing the charge.

The Government's assumption of the innocence of these men is unwarrantable and impudent. Are British citizens incapable of crime when they leave these shores?

The extreme readiness of the British Government to turn this matter into a political and diplomatic issue betrays a readiness to assume an attitude of hostility to the Soviet Union which we would urge our readers to note carefully.

Moreover, the panic with which they regard the prospect of an open trial at which evidence will be produced betrays a guilty conscience! Are they afraid of inconvenient revelations?

The press appears to think so, for it is already trying to discredit the evidence in advance by charging the G.P.U. with using "third degree" and other methods to extract confessions from the prisoners!

"Our four countrymen are undergoing the horrors of a Russian prison," screams the *Daily Express*.

But this is what Alan Monkhouse, one of the accused, said to a *Daily Herald* correspondent:

"My examiners seemed first-rate technical men who knew their job. They were extraordinarily nice to me and exceedingly reasonable in their questioning. The G.P.U. prison is the last word in efficiency, entirely clean, orderly and well-organised. **I have visited English prisons and can attest that the G.P.U. quarters are much superior."**

But that is a small detail which doesn't worry the anti-Soviet press, who are by this time pathologically, as well as politically, incapable of being scrupulous when it comes to discussing anything Soviet.

They continue to demand the breaking-off of diplomatic relations, or, alternatively, the imposition of a trading and financial boycott of the U.S.S.R.

The Government, through its Ambassador at Moscow, has "warned" the Soviet Government of the "severe effect" on Anglo-Soviet relations which might follow persistent refusal to liberate the British prisoners before trial can take place.

In the present atmosphere of war-talk and war-preparations any act of hostility to the Soviet Union on the part of Britain, such as the threatened rupture of diplomatic relations, might easily produce a most dangerous situation.

Because RUSSIA TO-DAY has consistently exposed the machinations of imperialist powers for war on the Soviet Union it has been accused, sometimes by well-meaning friends and sometimes by not so well-meaning foes, of indulging in cheap sensationalism—of crying "Wolf!" when there is no wolf.

To-day our strongest warnings are being justified to the full. We are no longer alone in talking of war: it is on everyone's lips. There is everywhere an atmosphere of impending war.

We have in particular urged our readers to maintain vigilance over developments in what we consider two of the high danger-spots in the world to-day: the Far East and Germany.

We have kept before our readers the following possibilities:

(1) An attack by Japan on Soviet Russia through Manchuria or by the seizure of Vladivostock.

(2) The drawing of Germany into the anti-Soviet front in Europe after crushing the extremely militant German working class.

Where do matters now stand in regard to these two possibilities?

As to Germany, here is the opinion of the Diplomatic Correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, a journalist who sits on the doorstep of the Foreign Office:

"One aspect of Herr Hitler's foreign policy, which is regarded in diplomatic circles as a clear gain (is) his openly expressed antagonism to the Soviet regime and to Communism in general. In this attitude Herr Hitler enjoys the fullest support of his Nationalist colleague, Herr von Papen."

The last point is important, for Papen (as we have shown in previous articles) is the leading protagonist of the idea of a Franco-German alliance against the Soviet Union, which he publicly advocated at the Gentlemen's Club in Berlin in 1931.

In this policy he has the active support of Hindenburg and of Neurath, **who until recently was German Ambassador in London,** and is now in charge of Germany's foreign policy. Neurath has always been an ardent advocate of German collaboration with France and Britain, and bitterly opposed to the German-Soviet understanding which was initiated with the Treaty of Rapallo in 1922.

But wait a minute (the reader may protest), isn't all this talk about a possible Franco-German or Franco-British-German alliance against the Soviet a trifle far-fetched when it is a known fact that France and Germany are glaring at each other with hostile eyes across the frontier?

It would be foolish to deny the existence of Franco-German hostility, just as it would be foolish to deny the existence of Japanese-American rivalry in the Far East.

But it would be a thousand times more foolish for any Friend of the Soviet Union to imagine that these inter-imperialist rivalries constitute a safeguard for the Soviet Union. For, underlying all imperialist antagonisms is the permanent, unchanging class alliance which binds the whole capitalist world in a solid block against the workers' state.

Let us never forget how, in 1871, the Prussian Army combined with its "enemy," the French bourgeoisie, to crush the Paris Commune, nor how, in 1918, the machine-guns of the French Army were at the service of the German bourgeoisie in crushing the German workers' and soldiers' revolution.

But because of the surface hostility of France and Germany the task falls to the British Government of keeping the peace between them (the Locarno pact) and of liquidating the various national rivalries in the crucible of an anti-Soviet crusade.

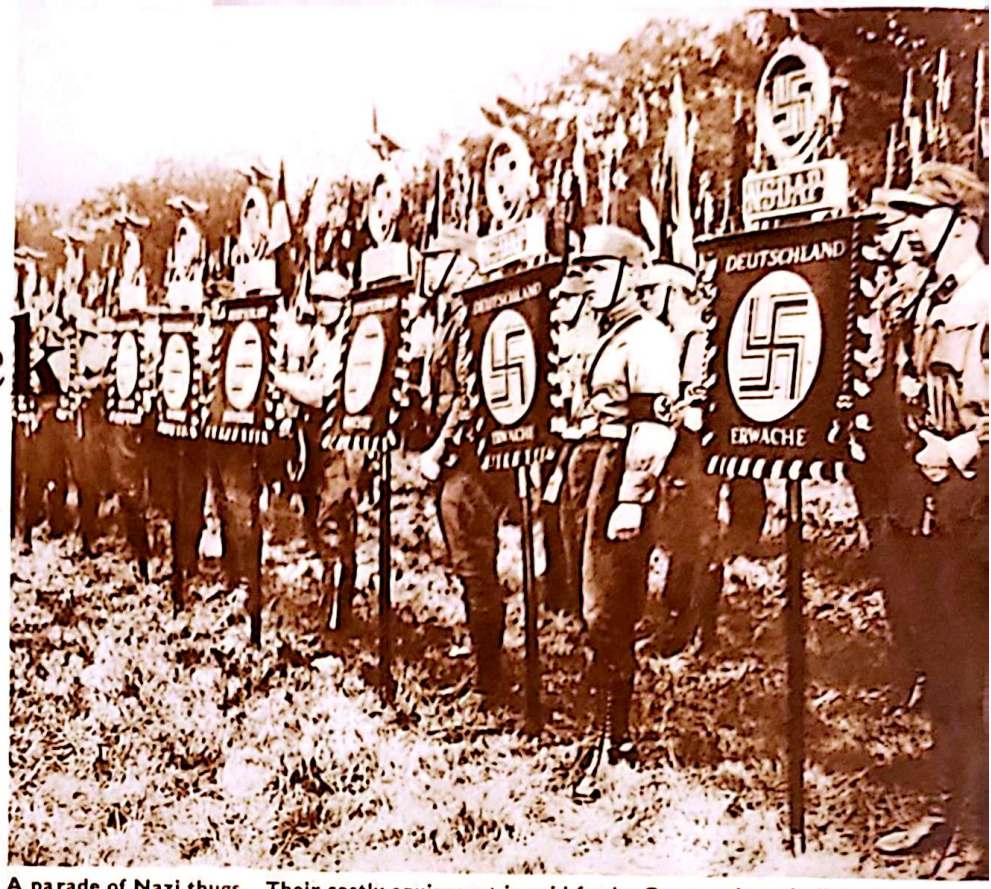
Back to 1914!

In this connection it is significant that the moment of the triumph of Fascism in Germany is the moment which MacDonald chooses for discussing with that other Fascist, Mussolini, the project of a four-power pact comprising Britain, France, Italy and Germany.

This is a proposal which the *Daily Telegraph* (March 20), in an editorial that went out of its way to kick Soviet Russia, welcomes as a **"return to the old pre-war Concert of Europe"!** How well we know what *that* led to! There is now only the difference that the target is not Prussian Militarism but Russian Bolshevism.

As long as Germany had governments that maintained the Rapallo Treaty of friendship with Soviet Russia, she was not to be given armaments. Now that the Prussian Junkers, for whose overthrow millions of lives were slaughtered in the Great War, have returned to power which they share with the Hitler Fascists, in tip-toe readiness for any anti-Soviet adventures, Germany may

Baldwin's Metro-Vick 'Protests'



A parade of Nazi thugs. Their costly equipment is paid for by Germany's capitalist rulers whose servant, Hitler, is to be invited to enter a war pact against the Soviet Union

be armed again. That is implied in the "Disarmament" plan submitted to Geneva by Ramsay MacDonald.

Not only is Germany to be given arms. The inspired statements that came from Rome when MacDonald and Simon were giving and taking the Fascist salute, make it clear that revision of the Peace Treaties will be effected under the ægis of the Four Great Powers. That means the frontier problems will be tackled.

Hitler has directed the fury of the German agitation for frontier revision at the Polish Corridor, a strip of land with which the Peace Conference divided East Prussia from the rest of Germany. Germany will never be a "good neighbour," to use a favourite diplomatic term, unless the Polish Corridor is returned to her. Last August RUSSIA TO-DAY spoke of the talks that were even then going on behind the scenes, of restoring this territory to Germany and giving Poland the Ukrainian part of Soviet Russia by way of compensation.

With the renewed talk of frontier revision in Germany's favour comes also a revival of this idea. Mr. George Lansbury, speaking in the House of Commons on February 27, said:

"The expected war"

"The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Epping (Winston Churchill) made a remarkable speech in this House during one of our discussions, I think it was upon Disarmament, in which he called attention to the Peace Treaties and to the dangers of war in Central Europe. **Men are already saying that this expected war between Russia and Japan will be an excellent opportunity of dealing with many of the problems mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman.** This all sounds very fantastic, but when I remember the secret treaties, made before and during the Great War, it does not sound so fantastic to me. **It is now proposed, and spoken of in the Press by statesmen, that Poland and Germany might come to an arrangement about the Polish Corridor whereby that might be returned to Germany and Poland be given compensation in places far away from one another, in the Ukraine (Russia) and in Latvia and Lithuania.** When men talk that way and at the same time talk of the good of war in Asia for the purpose of heading back Communism in Russia and stopping its spread elsewhere, it does not seem very fantastic that those who hate the Soviet Union should have in their minds a policy of this kind."

At another point in his speech, Mr. Lansbury declared that a few days previously two Members of Parliament told him that "it would be a very good thing if Russia and Japan could be occupied with one another in the Far East, as that would make it easier to deal with Communism in Europe." A reference by the same speaker to the view of the Japanese Minister, Matsuoka, that one faction in Japan thought that Japan should strike at the Soviet Union "before the potential menace fully materialises" was received with cheers, according to the official Hansard Report.

Is it being alarmist to draw public attention to this fact: that just at this moment, when the statesmen of imperialist powers are rushing hither and thither making fresh pacts and thinking in terms of re-armament, that members of the British Parliament should make no concealment of their pleasure at the possibility of a war against Soviet Russia?

The same members of Parliament cheer Baldwin's provocative anti-Soviet statement on the Metro-Vick arrests and Captain Eden's announcement of the rupture of trade negotiations and clamour for the next step—the breaking off of diplomatic relations.

The Japanese military faction which now control Japan's foreign policy and, according to both Matsuoka and General Araki, consider it strategically necessary to fight Russia better soon than late—it can be assumed that they are watching very closely the British attitude towards Russia.

If Britain broke off diplomatic relations with Russia, Japan would not wait another instant!

Already her military forces are concentrated in Manchuria and Korea, and her fleet in the Pacific, ready to pounce upon and seize the Soviet port of Vladivostock.

The well-known economist, Sir Walter Layton, writing in the *News-Chronicle* (March 20), says that Japan is getting ready to do this. The *Manchester Guardian* says the same. And, significantly enough, the Japanese are beginning to mention Vladivostock in their speeches and diplomatic utterances. General Araki sees Soviet menace implied in the fact that Vladivostock means "Conquest of the East." *At the time of writing, a Tokyo report says that the Japanese puppet government of Manchuria is preparing a note of protest to Moscow against the alleged* shipment of General Sin Ying Wen and his Chinese soldiers to Peking by way of Vladivostock. The Japanese in this respect are repeating the tactics which have preceded every one of their military movements in Manchuria and Jehol.

The British Government must know that by its provocative and hostile attitude towards Russia, by its deliberate breaking off of trade negotiations as a political gesture, and by its threats to go even farther, it is encouraging Japan to attack the Soviet Republic. Is it deliberately doing so, as Lansbury's statement suggests it is, in order to find in an anti-Soviet war the solution to the tribulations of capitalism in Europe?

Antagonisms among themselves may prevent the imperialist plans from materialising just in the manner we have outlined. What is important and menacing is that it is this manner in which capitalist politicians are directing their efforts. Sooner or later their common hatred of Soviet Russia will converge at a point at which unity among them will be possible.

Should the British workers wait for that moment, only then to learn the terrible lesson of apathy, a lesson that will be told in the language of war and destruction? The time to fight war is now. The Anti-War Congress held at Bermondsey last month, attended by fifteen hundred delegates from trade unions, political working-class organisations, pacifist and religious bodies, universities and schools, gave the working-class and all war-resisters a militant lead in the way to set about the job while there is time. The Friends of the Soviet Union participated in that Congress because Defence of the Socialist achievements of the Soviet Union is its cardinal principle.

There are certain immediate steps which all readers of RUSSIA TO-DAY can take to resist the war danger. Among them are:

Spreading the truth about the Soviet Union by pushing the sales of RUSSIA TO-DAY.

Assisting in forming a branch of the Friends of the Soviet Union in every town, village and work-place. (Write us and we'll tell you how.)

Getting his or her organisation to join in a deluge of resolutions to the Government protesting against war preparation, against the Anglo-Soviet trade rupture, and against the threat to break off diplomatic relations.

A MEETING of Metropolitan-Vickers' workers held at Caxton Hall, Salford, Manchester, passed the following resolution:

This meeting of engineering workers from Metropolitan-Vickers and other engineering factories vehemently protests against the National Government's utilisation of the legal arrest of Metropolitan-Vickers' and Russian workers as a timely excuse for the suspension of the discussion of the question of the renewal of the trade agreement.

This belligerent and provocative attitude would not, in our opinion, have been adopted towards any Power other than the Soviet Union and is part of the conscious policy of the National Government in its drive to war and against the building of Socialism.

We are convinced that the arrested workers are receiving and will receive every facility for a fair trial, and agree to constitute a committee for the selection of an engineering delegate who will be afforded the opportunity by the Soviet authorities for a thorough investigation of the whole affair and for personal attendance at the trial.

After the massacre at the Lena Goldfields in 1912—bodies of the shot strikers

From Massacre to Workers' Reconstruction

How Russian Miners Slaved under British and Tsarist Capitalists—

And how they are Building Socialism the Soviet Way.

THIS MONTH sees the twenty-first anniversary of the Lena Goldfields massacre. In April, 1912, the workers of Russia and the whole world were horrified to learn that a peaceful, unarmed procession of workmen on strike had been shot down.

One hundred and sixty-nine were killed or died of wounds; another 200 were wounded. So unprepared were the workmen, who had set out to petition the management not to evict their families in 15 degrees of frost, in the Siberian desert 3,000 miles from the nearest big town, that they had their Sunday clothes on. Yet the soldiers fired over 700 rounds, picking off fleeing workers by the dozen. A cry of horror went up all over the world. At first the brutal Tsarist Government tried to defend the massacre, and its Home Secretary justified it in much the same way that the massacre of unarmed Indians at Amritsar in 1919 was justified. He used a phrase which became historic: "So it has been, so it will be!" But finally an enquiry was held, which established:

The miners worked 11 hours a day for 18s. to 25s. a week.

They were paid 40 per cent. of their wage in kind at the company stores.

Bread with rags and horsedung in it, rotten meat, putrid fish, frozen potatoes, were a commonplace.

The company held back a quarter of their wage until the end of the season.

Their women relatives had to work at 1s. 3d. per day as servants.

The women were at the mercy of the company officials, and dared not complain lest their menfolk be sacked.

Men and women, married and single, lived herded indiscriminately together in wooden huts.

The local judges received free housing, fire, lighting, and horses from the company.

The company controlled the local postal services.

Shortly before the massacre, two hospitals were asked to keep beds available for many wounded.

Now Britain wants compensation from Russian workers!

But the Lena Massacre is of more than historical interest for British workers. More than 70 per cent. of the shares in the Russian Lena Company were owned by a British company—Lena Goldfields, Ltd.

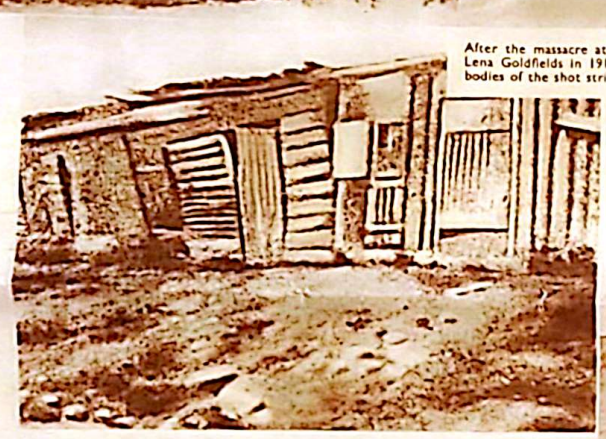
And Lena Goldfields, Ltd., made rich and abundant profits out of the ghastly misery of the Russian workers.

Twenty per cent. dividend in 1908-10, 30 per cent. the next year, 20 per cent. the next, 5 per cent. over the next two years owing to the strike, approximately 15 per cent. during the first year of the war—this was the royal harvest reaped from the sufferings of starved workmen, raped and prostituted women, hungry and diseased children at the Lena mines!

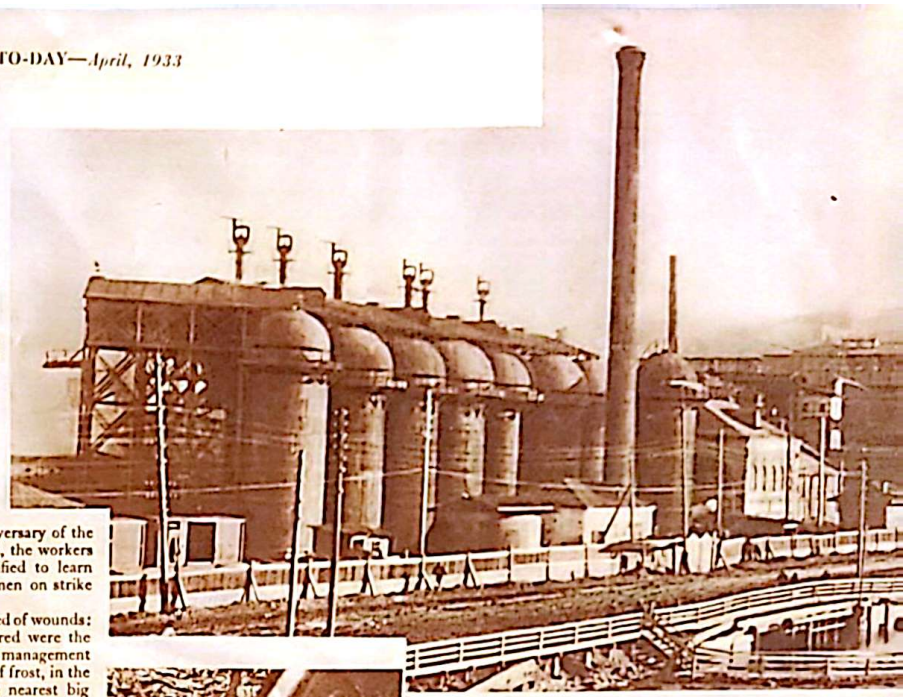
And this is the company whose champions in Parliament to-day have the impudence to talk of its "stolen properties in Russia!" They took a concession on some of their mines from the Soviet Government after the Revolution, but proved unable to finance them or to carry out their contract.

They found that profits were harder to come by than in the good old days of workers' slavery. And now the company, backed by the British Government, is running a campaign for £13,000,000 compensation from the Soviet workers!

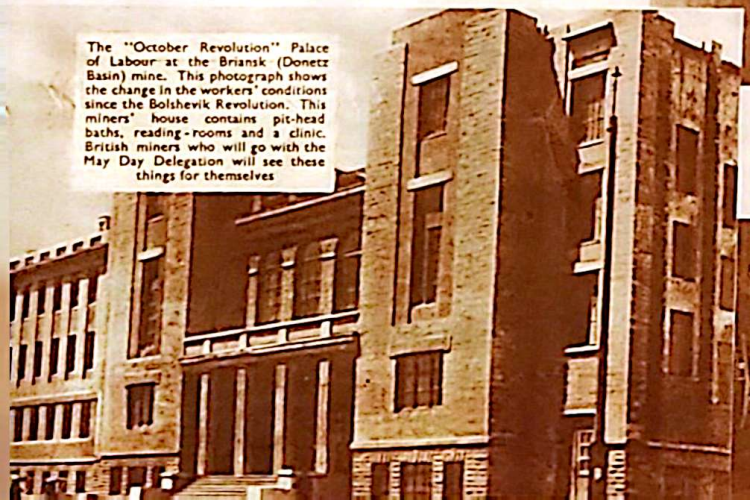
Every British worker should back up our Soviet brothers by declaring firmly: "Not a penny for the capitalist blood-suckers who have been thrown out by the Russian workers!"



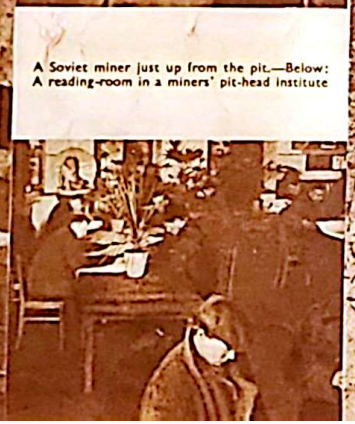
This photograph of a "miners' row" was taken at the time of the Lena Massacre. This was the housing under British and Russian capitalist control



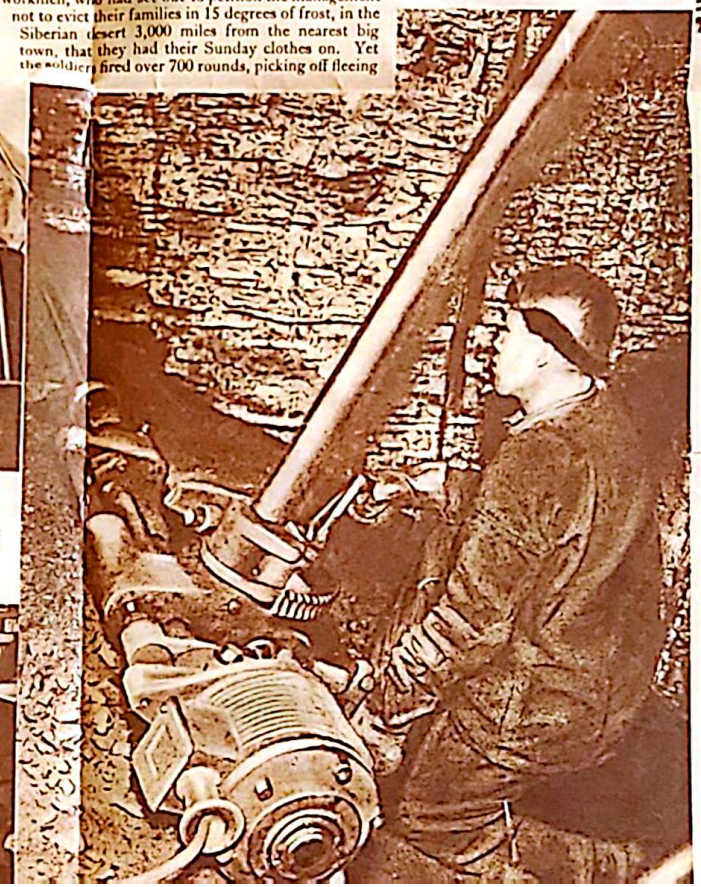
Together with the revolution in mining conditions and technique has gone the advance in all industries that use coal and ores. Here is the completely rebuilt and reconditioned Kushinsky (Urals) blast furnace



The "October Revolution" Palace of Labour at the Briansk (Donetz Basin) mine. This photograph shows the change in the workers' conditions since the Bolshevik Revolution. This miners' house contains pit-head baths, reading-rooms and a clinic. British miners who will go with the May Day Delegation will see these things for themselves



A Soviet miner just up from the pit.—Below: A reading-room in a miners' pit-head institute



The most modern methods of coal getting are used in the Soviet Union to-day

Our Information Service

REPORT Those Anti-Soviet Stories to US AT ONCE!

THE Information Department of the Friends of the Soviet Union has been reorganised and is ready to answer all questions addressed to it. It will answer you individually or through the columns of RUSSIA TO-DAY.

It is especially important that readers of RUSSIA TO-DAY and members of the F.S.U., whenever they find themselves in difficulty in dealing with statements concerning the U.S.S.R., should write at once to the department for help.

Members of the F.S.U. are under an obligation to assist the department in its work, and never to let a question or criticism go unanswered. Where criticisms are justified this must be admitted, but where they are not justified real knowledge must be the basis for reply.

When in any difficulty about the facts, or about the interpretation of facts, **Write to us at once.**

It is essential that the Information Department be well-informed on the propaganda that goes on against the U.S.S.R.

It is a duty of every F.S.U. member to send us information, in the form of newspaper cuttings, pamphlets, and reports of speeches or other activities. And such information must be sent at once.

Only through the *active* co-operation of F.S.U. members can the Information Department do its job thoroughly. And only through this work can the lies and misrepresentation current to-day be successfully countered.

Communications should be addressed to: Information Dept., F.S.U., 33 Ormond Yard, London, W.C.1.

THE Economic League is fighting against the working-class movement in every possible way, including attacks on the U.S.S.R. Last year it published a number of pamphlets, and its Notes for Speakers, No. 21+, was called "Evolution in Russia," and was of a thoroughly anti-Soviet nature. Its pamphlets Nos. 7 and 8, 1932, were called "Russia To-day" and "The Truth About the Reds." The E.L. is now on a campaign to show that the U.S.S.R. is rapidly arming while the capitalist world is disarming!!

The Economic League selects very carefully its facts from Soviet sources. A statement of a general nature is selected from a document which is friendly to the Soviet regime, and then some particular case from the Soviet press is taken to refute it.

Thus, in the pamphlet called "Russia To-day" is quoted: "The Five-Year Plan Wins Through in Four Years" (a headline from our own RUSSIA TO-DAY, September 1932). This general statement is considered refuted by the statement from a Soviet newspaper that with regard to quality "the execution of the Plan is frankly unsatisfactory," a statement which has frequently been made by Soviet leaders at the same time that the general success of the plan was undoubted.

Again, we have the following quotation from our paper: "There had to be a greater and more rapid increase in the number of tractors and agricultural machines. Not only is the plan for these already surpassed, but the U.S.S.R. is now turning out more agricultural machinery than any country in the world."

At the foreign workers' Children's Home of Culture, Leningrad—Mrs. Mary Morton and her daughter (facing the camera). Mrs. Morton is the widow of a Liverpool worker, James Morton, who, six years ago, called Lady Astor's bluff when she challenged any worker to live in the U.S.S.R. Morton accepted the challenge, and Lady Astor had to pay his fare to Russia, where he worked as an engineer. His children are being brought up in the Soviet Union

But a Soviet newspaper wrote that "The majority of agricultural machinery works are operating unsatisfactorily." It was in spite of all kinds of difficulty in operating the new plants that their output was so much increased.

The Economic League does not prove our statements invalid, it merely quotes particular cases which we frankly admit, and which are inevitable in a country of the magnitude of the U.S.S.R. in a period of rapid social and economic change.

* * *

A MONTHLY paper has recently been started called *The Investigator*. Its aim is to "help the Ukraine, the richest part of the U.S.S.R., to break away."

It is therefore hardly likely to be objectivet except in weighing up the possibilities of successful capitalist exploitation of the Ukraine, abou, which the editorial of the February issue states: "From an industrial point of view there has never been any question that an Independent Ukraine would afford vast opportunities for every type of commercial enterprise."

This paper, which is openly fighting for armed intervention, will have its sixth issue in April, and is presumably allowed to exist by permission of the British Government, which is supposed to maintain "friendly" diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government.

* * *

AS the crisis of capitalism deepens, the outcry against the U.S.S.R. spreads, and even the *Manchester Guardian* has now definitely aligned itself with the reactionaries.

Before last autumn the Moscow Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* was W. H. Chamberlain, who, though by no means entirely sympathetic, had an element of objective honesty which produced in many cases a fair presentation of the facts of the situation. But last autumn the old correspondent left the U.S.S.R. temporarily, and his place was taken by Malcolm Muggeridge, already author of a cynical novel and a play called "Three Flats," both embittered expressions of middle-class despondency in the age of collapsing capitalism.

On February 18 the "Guardian" openly reversed its old policy towards the matter of alleged religious persecution in the U.S.S.R. From its old attitude of objectivity it has now turned away, publishing an article from "A Moscow Correspondent" with the following headlines: "The Soviet and Religion . . . Veiled Persecution."

In substance the article gives us no facts that are not already known in England by all who are interested in the U.S.S.R.

Then it goes on to allege the penalisation of individuals for holding religious views, a statement completely unsubstantiated by evidence, and obviously based on the petty bourgeois gossip of Moscow office workers, who delight in filling the ears of foreign correspondents with tales of horror and persecution.

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Special edition by Lenin, Marx's most famous disciple. 6d

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Karl Marx.

Besides the text of the famous polemic, which is a text-book on revolutionary Marxism, this contains Engels' letters to Bebel and Bracke and Kautsky, Engels' Introduction, and the notes made by Lenin on his copy of the book, together with some extracts from Lenin's *State and Revolution*. Paper 2/6 Cloth 3/6

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Frederick Engels on the death of Karl Marx. (Illustrated.) Speech, letters and articles. 2d

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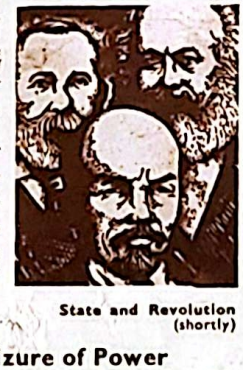

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Toward the Seizure of Power
Vol. XXI of the Collected Works. £1. 1. 0d.

There is also a half-price edition of the Collected Works available only to members of working-class organisations. Volumes already issued are Iskra Period, Materialism, Imperialist War, and 1917. The 8 books at 43/-. Deferred terms available.

MARXIST STUDY COURSES
Economics: Value, wages, crisis, etc., 1 to 6 ready, 7 to 10 ready in March-April, 6d a part.
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MARTIN LAWRENCE, 33, GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON, W.C.1.

A British K.C.'s Glowing Picture of Soviet Justice

"A professional judge and two co-judges sit at a small table . . . with as little formality as English peasants in a village inn."—The judges in a Russian court

THE arrest of British engineers in Russia has brought the fire of the press upon the Soviet system of justice.

A well-known English barrister, Mr. D. N. Pritt, K.C., chairman of the Howard League for Penal Reform has lately visited the Soviet Union, and in *Twelve Studies in Soviet Russia* (Victor Gollancz, 5s.), he contributes an interesting chapter on the Soviet legal system.

Added interest is given to Mr. Pritt's observations in view of the fact that he recently defended the three Welsh miners who received sentences ranging from 15 months to three years for anti-war work among the soldiers.

Commenting on the spirit of the Soviet courts, Mr. Pritt says: "It is almost impossible to use moderate language; and the contrast appeals perhaps more strongly to an Englishman than to, say, a Dane.

"In England, most cases of any importance come before a judge who, however anxious he may be to administer impartial and understanding judgment, suffers from three grave handicaps:

"In the first place, he has spent the best years of his life in practice in that branch of the legal profession which is protected by its organisation and etiquette from direct contact with the life of the everyday man.

"In the second, he is hedged about in his office with such pomp and dignity that it is almost impossible for any witness or accused to speak naturally and freely to him; and,

"In the third, he belongs, in all but the very rarest cases—by upbringing, education and surroundings—to a sheltered class as far removed as possible from the outlook, the problems, the temptations, and the habits of most of the litigants with whom he has to deal, and, in particular, of the accused over whose lives he exercises almost blindly a terrible power.

"In Russia, everything is as different from this as it can be. A professional judge and two co-judges sit at a small table, and deal with the prosecution, the accused, the advocates, the litigants, with as little formality as a group of English peasants arguing politics in a village inn.

"Two of the three were, a week before, and will be a week after, at work in factory or farm or office, like the litigants or the accused; the other may have been in factory or farm or office last year, and may be again next year, without either loss or gain in prestige or material reward, or sense of superiority or inferiority.

"One's appreciation of the inestimable social value of three such judges spending over half an hour in a friendly but searching cross-examination of a man who had already pleaded guilty, in order to have before them every fact which could possibly help in deciding what kind of reformative treatment should be applied to him, was rather increased by the knowledge that, an hour before, they had been engaged, with equal good temper, for ten minutes after their judgment had been definitely pronounced in a spirited argument with an unsuccessful defendant who still thought and repeatedly asserted at the top of his voice, that the judgment was wrong. (In England he would have been removed by the usher).

"The whole spirit of the Courts in this very important aspect is so admirable that the most orthodox of Western Europeans might be tempted to say that, if this simplicity could not be achieved without the virtual abolition of classes the price would not be too high."

In view of the suggestions in the capitalist press that a Soviet lawyer, acting for the defence of the arrested Britons, would not be a free agent, Mr. Pritt's observation on this point is interesting:

"So far as can be judged," he writes, "advocates are able to present their client's cases freely and fearlessly. In particular, one of the most eminent advocates who had appeared for many persons accused of counter-revolutionary activities, stated that he never felt the least embarrassment or difficulty in presenting his case as strongly as he thought fit. In common with some 85 per cent. of his fellow-advocates, he was not a member of the Communist Party."

S.O.S. !

We must have funds quickly!

RUSSIA TO-DAY needs them to meet urgent bills; and the organisation needs them for day-to-day activity.

The readers of our paper and the F.S.U. branches hold the future of our paper in their hands.

They should put those hands deep down into their pockets and send in every penny that can be afforded.

THIS APPEAL IS URGENT!

Help RUSSIA TO-DAY to get back to SIXTEEN PAGES.

Send Donations to the Treasurer, F.S.U., 33 ORMOND YARD, LONDON, W.C.1

LEARN RUSSIAN—New Group being formed. Write: Edward Bernstein, c/o RUSSIA TO-DAY.

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British Workers to See Results of Five-Year Plan

THE workers' delegation to the May Day celebrations in the U.S.S.R. will be the first to visit the Soviet Union since the completion of the first Five-Year Plan.

The delegates will have a first-hand opportunity of seeing the tremendous progress in the socialist construction of heavy industry and agriculture—progress that places the Soviet mass production in front of the other world powers.

Magnitogorsk, Dnieperstroi, Stalingrad—the outstanding features of socialist industrial planning—are all completed and working. These wonderful achievements, accomplished in face of obstacles and difficulties, could not have been overcome except by mass sacrifice and energy.

Help the Delegation!

YOU see the importance of the delegation campaign—how it opens up new ground, gains support for the U.S.S.R. and builds the Friends of the Soviet Union.

Will you send a donation to assist delegates from depressed areas?

Will you take a Collecting Sheet round your shop or Union branch?

Will you take a Collection at your F.S.U. Section or Group Meeting?

Send Donations to The Treasurer, F.S.U., 33 Ormond Yard, London, W.C.1.

They are outstanding examples of the 1,500 new industrial undertakings that have been completed during the past four years.

The delegates will be able to contrast this progress with the silent shipyards of the Tyne, Clyde, Wear, Severn and the Mersey; with the derelict steel mills of Sheffield, Lanark, Middlesbrough and South Wales; with the closed pits of the British coalfields and silence of the textile towns where modern but disused machinery is being broken up as scrap.

The delegates will be able to see how the progress of industry and agriculture is reflected in better conditions all round for the workers; how wages are rising; health, cultural and educational facilities constantly improving; light, warmth and housing being extended. And they will see a country where unemployment has been banished for ever.

They will get first-hand knowledge of the difficulties, too. The Soviet workers themselves will tell them of the fight to overcome lack of machine skill and craft; of the struggle against slackers and saboteurs in the factories. They will examine the difficulties arising from backward technique, and understand, as workers, the measures taken to overcome this backwardness.

The truth about the food situation, about alleged religious and national persecution, can all be examined on the spot.

Particularly the engineering workers will be able to examine the effects of wreckers organised to sabotage progress. They will also ascertain the facts, first hand, of the case against the "Metro-Vick." engineers for alleged sabotage.

FROM all parts of Britain come encouraging reports of the campaign for delegates. In West Wales, the anthracite miners are uniting with the F.S.U. to send two delegates, and the tinplate and steelworkers are also to the front.

In Scotland, the West District Committee of the F.S.U. have pledged themselves to send at least five delegates. In London, 'busmen, railmen and engineers are arranging for delegates.

This delegation will have a high percentage of women workers. From the West of Scotland the C.W.S. workers at Shieldhall have already elected a delegate and raised the necessary money, and the workers at a large shoe factory have also completed arrangements to send a woman worker.

But much remains to be done before we have a record delegation. The danger of war makes it essential that Bristol, Hull, Southampton and Liverpool should not be neglected. In all these centres, April should see a complete mobilisation of all forces—F.S.U., Anti-War and others—to secure docker and seamen delegates.

From the Tyneside and Teeside we expect big things. And that means a complete break with our past record!

And Manchester! Here a record gathering of delegates assembled to protest against the break in Anglo-Russian trade relations; here a wide anti-war movement is being organised; here Metro-Vick's workers are keenly interested in the affairs of the Soviet Union; from Manchester we must have an engineering delegate.

How to Elect Your Delegate

DELEGATES are accepted from the basic industries, such as coal-mining, textiles, transport, engineering and chemicals.

Delegates must be workers from the job. They must be elected by their fellow workers and produce the written endorsement of 30 per cent. of the workers in the shop.

Delegates may be endorsed by union branches or other workin-gclass organisations. They must prepare lists of subjects and questions, provided by their fellow workers, for investigation and reply.

Each delegate must be prepared to give an undertaking that he will report faithfully and truly on the position of the Soviet Union and that on his return he will do all possible to spread the information he has collected.

The cost of each delegate is £25. This includes fares, separation allowances to dependents and all other expenses.

All money must be in the hands of the F.S.U. headquarters by April 18. The delegation will leave on April 24, or thereabouts, for four weeks.

"Workers! Fight with us for Soviet Russia, our proletarian Fatherland"—thus reads the leading banner of this German workers' demonstration. The Hitler Government has made the F.S.U. illegal in Germany, but the struggle against war and for the Workers' State goes on

Hitler Raids the FSU

THE Nazis, in their attack on the workers' organisations in Germany, did not leave out the Friends of the Soviet Union. The office of the International Committee of the F.S.U., and that of the German Sections, in Berlin, were raided and closed.

The German Section is now illegal, but is not out of action. It has, in fact, intensified its work. Apart from the arrest of Dr. Stoecker, one of the secretaries, and the loss of its office, the International Committee has not suffered severely. New offices have been opened in another centre.

But the Nazi raid means a heavy financial loss to the International Committee. The Committee appeals to F.S.U. members in all lands to reply to Hitler by rendering it financial assistance.

What will *you* do? Send a donation marked "International Committee." If you are a F.S.U. member, buy your international levy stamp now. Send donations to the F.S.U., 33 Ormond Yard, London, W.C.1. They will be forwarded at once.

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DANCE, Social, Visiting, Business Cards.—Fred Vint, 44 Harvey Road, Hornsey, London, N.8. F.S.U. member and speaker.

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MAKING Human Beings HUMAN!

by P. A. Sloan

"WORKADAY HEROICS" (on sale at the F.S.U., 33 Ormond Yard, London, W.C.1., 6d.) is a little book of twelve stories of Soviet agriculture.

However much may be read about Soviet life, nothing is so illuminating as the literature of the people themselves, frankly describing their everyday life.

This book contains no statistics, no attempts at passing "objective" judgments from those who do not understand what they are judging, for it is an expression of the living workers themselves.

The book is described in the preface as "twelve short epics of the working day," and this is no exaggeration. It is well translated, often poetic, and always human. The writers tell frankly about their experiences, difficulties are described, achievements are described, and throughout there is an undercurrent of intense effort and enthusiasm.

Workers' own story

The workers are tilling their own lands, building a new world. As workers they all have the social status of free human beings, and the best are honoured with the Order of Lenin.

Women, starting as lowly-paid servant girls, having fled from an impoverished village, come back to the land. They become leaders of brigades, honoured by their comrades, directors of farms. Sometimes they are despised by the men, to start with, but they earn recognition and honour.

At first the peasants find it difficult to sink their private interests in those of the collective. But slowly and surely their outlook changes. They feel that they are living for something that is worth working for, and, as one of them expresses it, they make a discovery; "The psychology of the worker, why, it is an entirely different one!"

And by degrees they lose their interest in private property. An old peasant is furious because a young man comes to him in the dead of night to borrow a lamp in order to drive the tractor. They are ploughing day and night. But the boy takes it from under his bed and runs off.

It is returned next morning in good order. But the old man complains to the village meeting. The meeting supports the youth, who borrowed it for communal purposes.

Later on the old man turns it over to the collective "because it has been lying idle under his bed, and it may be of use."

A pig can be lovable!

And throughout the book we see how human the peasant life is. While enemies of the Soviet can refer to "that awful policy of mechanising life" we can read, from a state piggery, for large-scale pig breeding, the following remark about a pig: "What she does love is petting; she is simply pining for love—that's quite true. And how can anyone help loving pigs, when they are so nice!"

There is so much to be done in this new world, and it is worth doing. One of them remarks: "We are all of us something like heroes—we have so much work to do."

And they are enabled to travel, to see other parts of the Soviet Union; and many of them have been to the town to study.

Zenia, a woman peasant, remarks: "My husband keeps on dreaming of visiting Moscow to see the theatres, but I want to visit Dnieprostroi as soon as I can."

Every worker who wishes to understand working-class freedom must read this book. In the U.S.S.R. work has become human, and the human being needs work. Work is worth while, and the workers are free people.

There are slackers and grumblers; there is inefficiency and there is progress, but it is only the literature of the people themselves which can convey the human triumph which the revolution means.

Our Special Effort Fund

(See Page Nine)

Previously acknowledged, £148 4s. 5d.; John Aitchison, Newdigate, 5s. 10d.; A. H. Brown, Hayling, 7s. 6d.; O. T. Middleton, Hailsham, 10s.; Mrs. Wilman, Bradford, 3s.; Wm. Davidson, Sunderland, 1s. 3d.; Alex. Cairns, Kilmarnock, 2s. 6d.; Welwyn Garden City Branch, 15s.; H. Cheshire, Derby, 5s.; R. Compton, Peckham, 2s. 4d.; S. Barton, Islington F.S.U., 5s. 1d.; Woolwich F.S.U., 10s.; Wimbledon F.S.U. 5s.; C. J. Widdowson, Sheffield, 10s. 6d.; E. W. Dickes, Levenshulme, 7s. 6d.; Wood Green F.S.U. 15s.; Bedford F.S.U., 10s.; Woolwich F.S.U., 10s.; Richards, Llanelly 5s. 6d.; Simpson, Derby, 5s.; J. G. Chope, Cambridge, 2s. 6d.; Christine Charsley, 5s.; C. W. Goulder, Orpington, 5s.; Kingston F.S.U., 5s.; Bristol F.S.U., £1; Wombwell F.S.U., 2s. 6d.; Frank Rudland, Leyton F.S.U., 10s.; Burslem F.S.U., £1 8s. 6d.; Fulham F.S.U., 7s. 6d.; Islington F.S.U., 8s. 2d.; Turnbull, Edinburgh, 10s. Total, £160 4s. 7d.

Watch the whole SOVIET UNION March in MASSED REVIEW on May 1st, 1933

HERE is a land of vast and many-coloured contrasts, richly dowered with treasures of the past, vibrating with new forms of art, industry, and social work. Covering one sixth of the world's surface, it spreads from Arctic seas to golden desert sands. Great modern cities contrast vividly with Tartar villages, ancient Gothic forts, and fabulous realms once ruled by Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane.

The May Celebrations of 1933 offer you an opportunity for cheap travel to the U.S.S.R.—the most-discussed country in the world. Not only will you return with a wealth of new impressions and ideas, but you will have taken part in one of the most magnificent manifestations of a people who have astonished the whole world by their courage, enterprise and industry.

May day in any of the great cities of the U.S.S.R. is surely one of the most interesting experiences to be met in the world.

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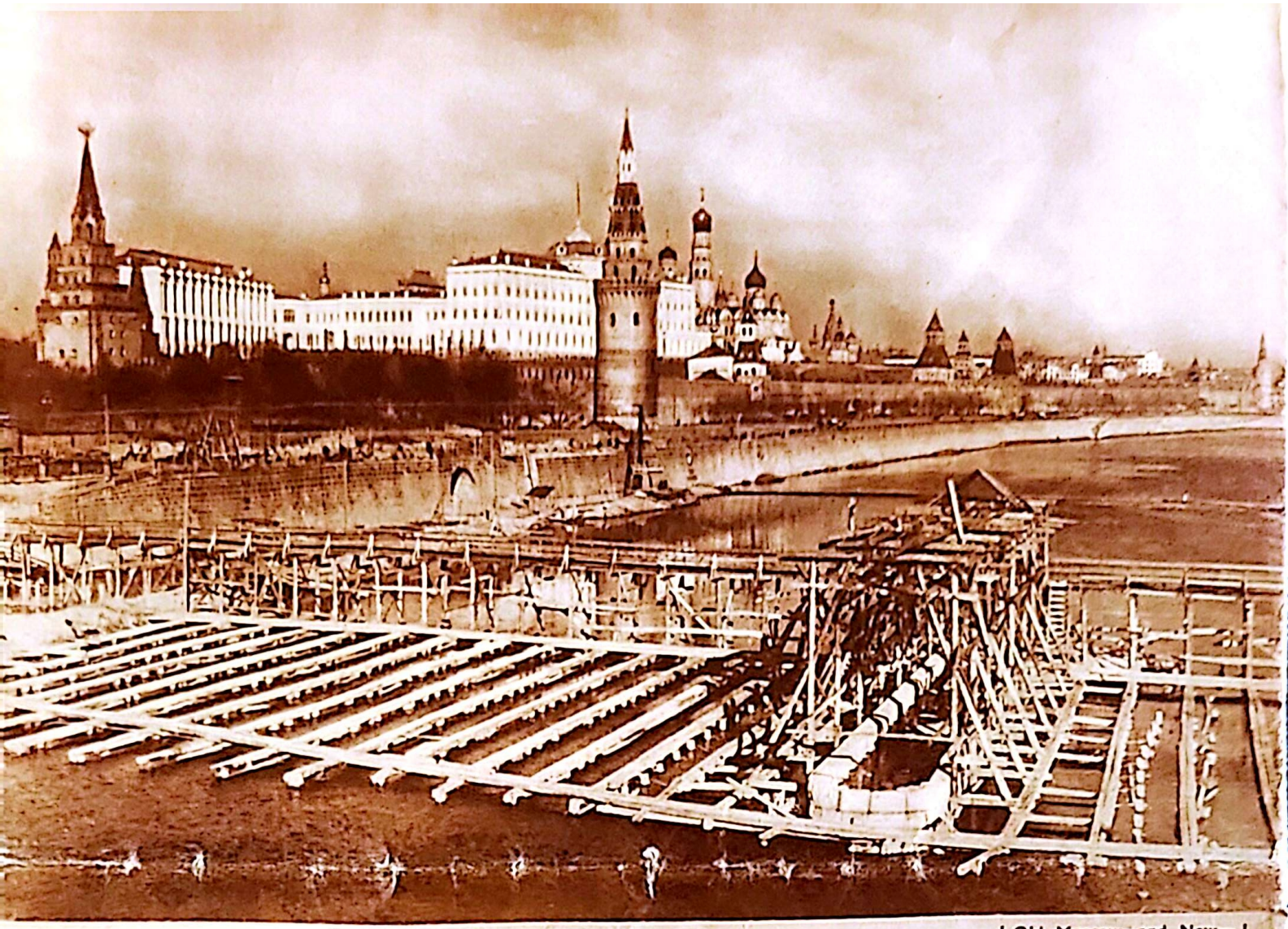
Travel in Soviet RUSSIA



Old Moscow—and New—Building a great modern bridge across the Moscow River

Photo: Mary Bourke-White.

The Return of the Thorntons

A True Story with, Perhaps, a Moral

BEFORE the revolution, the finest textile mills in St. Petersburg were owned by an English family. They employed nearly 3,000 workers, and had many fine government contracts.

They lived in a house just by the factory. Every month they could watch their employees stream out of the gates with just enough money to keep them going till next month. And every month they could watch the profits stream into the little house by the factory.

True, the employees worked longer hours than English textile workers. True, they received far less wages. But the profits! They were higher than one could make in England. Thornton was the name of the family. They waxed more and more prosperous. Everything seemed good.

Then, one luckless day in 1917, they lost their factory. The employees decided they could run the show themselves. Profits ceased to flow into the little house by the mills. The Thorntons disappeared from the scene, leaving the source of wealth behind.

When the former employees took charge of the factory they re-named it The Red Banner Mill. At first, what with having to fight the White Guards and the British forces, things were difficult. But after a while they straightened out.

The old factory started up regularly, increased its output, was enlarged, took on more workers, fulfilled its five-year plan well ahead of schedule. It is a familiar story.

In this old factory of the Thorntons, once considered the pride of St. Petersburg with 3,000 workers, there are now 13,000. Where ten hours per day once was worked, the rule is now seven.

In the old days, it was no business of the factory to look after the children of the workers employed there. It is now. There is a model creche by the factory. Not only children come there every day, but deputations from other parts of the country to see how a creche should be run.

In the old days, health also was not a responsibility of the factory. If a worker was well, he could work. If he was ill, he stayed away, got better, or died. In either case, somebody else took his loom.

Nowadays there is not only a medical station on the factory premises, there are all the latest devices of science to nurse the worker back to health—sunlight treatment, electricity, special diets. The factory provides whatever is required, and goes on paying wages as well.

And the goods. They no longer sell in the dearest market, according to where the biggest profit can be made. They are distributed according to the need for them, and to workers first of all.

Yes, it was a good day for the employees of Thorntons when they decided to take over the factory and run it themselves.

But for the Thornton family—that is another matter. They lost their factory. Maybe they dreamed that one day they would return.

It is a curious fact that one, at any rate, of the Thorntons did return. He returned as an employee of Metropolitan-Vickers, as a member of their staff in Moscow. He is one of the six British representatives now facing a charge of sabotage.

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